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SAN CROSS-BORDER CULTURAL HERITAGE AND IDENTITY IN BOTSWANA, NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT The aim of this paper is to examine the indigenous San cultural identity that transcends ecological zones across the borders of Botswana, Namibia and South Africa respectively. The paper explores the representation of borders and boundaries within traditional culture, dance and music. Dance, music, material art and craft, if broadly defined, become a medium through which San women and men narrate their experiences to a broader audience. The paper contends that giving voice to the San: in the many forms that such voice is captured, will significantly enhance our understanding of indigenous knowledge systems and thus better guide strategies towards transformation of modern southern African societies. The discussion aims to showcase San indigenous knowledge systems and creativity, and shift the discourse from a ‘marginalised and suffering only’ sphere to appreciation of their voices through culture, art, music and dance. The article suggests that the San artistic contribution, the articulation of their specific experiences and traditional knowledge enjoy significant attention across political boundaries.

Key Words: San; Cultural heritage; Identity; Dance; Music; Rock art; Art; Handicraft; Indigenous knowledge.

INTRODUCTION

The paper provides a detailed and fine description of growing appreciation of cultural heritages such as rock art and paintings, contemporary art, handicrafts, dance and music of the San, whom the majority are still vulnerable but resilient. The focus of the discussion is on Botswana, but appropriate reference is made to the San populations in Namibia and South Africa. The paper argues for recognition of ethnic identity of the San in southern African Nation States because issues of identity and cultural heritage are crucial to vitalize indigenous knowledge, and the case of the San draws a unique and interesting trajectory amongst the indigenous people of the world. The paper further notes that the San have so far made relatively meaningful lives for themselves in a region where governments are challenged by providing broad sectoral goals and strategies to address among other things poverty eradication, development and economic empowerment amongst the rural and remote area communities. Most recently in addition to the Revised Remote Area Dweller Programme (Government of Botswana, 2009) the government of Botswana has introduced the Affirmative Action Framework (2012) which aims to “fast-track the development of the remote area communities in cognizance of the slow development they have experienced” (Mbuli, 2013; Revised Remote Area Development Programme, Government of Botswana, 2009). This new strategy acknowledges that communities such as the San people have over a long

period of time experienced discrimination and therefore have not accrued assets to fall back on in times of shocks and vulnerabilities in their livelihood systems. It is yet to be established if such strategy is people-centred and accommodating San identity to negotiate economic, social and political space within difficult conditions they live in. Further analysis of the government strategy reveals a significant implementation gap between the ideals and practice on the ground.

In recent years the issue of identity (cultural, ethnic or linguistic) has become topical in southern Africa in an attempt to address self-determination and human rights. The UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Diversity Cultural Expressions (2005) touches on some of these aspects. In the analysis, this paper links the discourse on San cultural heritage and identity with the UNESCO Convention, which requires governments of state parties to formulate and implement cultural policies and measures for the protection and promotion of cultural diversity (UNESCO, 2005; Graber, 2006). The Convention affirms that cultural diversity forms a common heritage of humanity and should be cherished and preserved for the benefit of all. The Convention further recognizes the importance of traditional knowledge as a source of intangible and material wealth, and in particular the knowledge systems of indigenous peoples, and its contribution to sustainable development (UNESCO, 2005). Many indigenous people all over the world are presently engaged in ethno-political processes. These processes have increased political, i.e. the right to self-determination, the right to land, water use and cultural life.

Using case studies, this paper argues for the importance of cultural diversity that recognizes San cultural identity in contemporary southern Africa. Case studies will demonstrate the extent to which San communities have pursued strategies of resilience. Botswana, Namibia and South Africa pursue national principles and frameworks which promote democracy, development, self-reliance, tolerance, social justice and mutual respect. Some of the national strategies articulate that no citizen will be disadvantaged as a result of gender, age, religion or creed, colour, national or ethnic origin, location and language (see Government of Botswana, Presidential Task Force Group, 2007). These frameworks are relevant in the understanding and appreciating the San art, music and dance embodied in the uniqueness of identities and cultural expressions. Currently there are debates that such cultural expressions including their languages may be threatened by emphasis on mainstream society and globalization. With illustrations, the paper shows how non-government organizations (NGO) with structures to improve quality lives of the San and San activism have over the years been promoting identity, self-determination and social justice. In the discussion below the paper demonstrates that in their current position, the San ethnic groups have gone through an interaction with modernity, however in their resilience to seek an identity they have pursued various livelihood strategies associated to ethno-culture and indigenous knowledge systems. Despite changes, San communities particularly in Botswana still hold their culture and traditions in high esteem.

I. Cultural and Linguistic Identity: A Brief Overview

The San are widely known as the indigenous minorities found in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa. Several publications have estimated the population at 100,000 people, the large population residing within Botswana (see Hitchcock, et al. 2006; Hitchcock, 2002: 797; Bieseke & Hitchcock, 2013: 4). Only very small population remains in Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The language debate is relevant to the discussion in the paper because language is an important feature of one's identity, however in the contemporary southern Africa, their own aggregative identity as the "San" has not been consistent. San cultural identity is infused within a varied Khoesan language classification. The Khoesan linguistic and ethnographic analysis confirms a cross-border cultural identity in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa (Bleek, 1942; Barnard, 1988a: 30–42, 1988b; Haake & Elderkin, 1997; Janson, 2000). The three major language groups are generally classified as northern, central and southern languages. These languages include Ju/'hoansi (!Kung), Naro, ||Gana (G||ani) and |Gui (G|wi), !Xu, Bugakhwe, ||Anaikhwe, ≠Khomani, Hei||Omn (Haake & Elderkin, 1997; Batibo, 1998; Janson, 2000). The Northern Khoisan is represented by speakers who include for example, the Ju/'hoasi in north western Botswana and north-eastern Namibia. The Central Khoesan are for example the ||Gana, |Gui and Naro spoken in the western part of Botswana (the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR), New Xade, Kaudwane and D'kar respectively) (Batibo, 1998).

The Ju/'hoansi and to some extent the Bugakhwe are a good example of San cross-border cultural identity in places such as the Nyae Nyae in Namibia, and in some remote areas of the Okavango Delta in Botswana (Lee, 1976; 1984: 67–71). Like some of the ethnic groups living along the southern African borders, the Ju/'hoansi and Bugakhwe groups have relatives in Namibia and Botswana and often cross the border either to visit their relatives or look for job opportunities (Parker, 2002: 21; Gordon, 1992). In the Caprivi, the geographical area widely connecting Namibia with Zambezi River, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and the Okavango Delta in Botswana is known as the Khwe San ancestral lands. The Caprivi has since been occupied by groups such as Ovambo and Hambukushu with a traditional centralised political structure and this led to the appropriation of San land (Suzman, 2004; Harring & Odendaal, 2006).

Examples of the Khoisan languages located across the border of South Africa are (!Xam and ≠Khomani confirming the reported linguistic and genetic diversity of these languages in the region. Due to the history of domination and subjugation in southern Africa some of the languages have since disappeared. Endangered languages could be saved by more research on languages and linguistics. The Naro Language project in D'Kar (west of Botswana) is good example of an initiative in promoting language and cultural empowerment of the San, where local communities are involved in the writing and reading of their own language. With the continued support by the Mission of the Christian Reformed Churches in the Netherlands, the Naro Language project has come up with several projects including the translation of a Bible into Naro, produced a variety of material for disseminating information in, for example, the understanding of HIV/Aids. The writing

of songs and other materials have incorporated San values for preservation of a cultural heritage (Visser, 1998; Naro Language Project, 2012; Naro San Values, 2012: 1–23).

Despite the differences in language structure and orthography, amongst the Khoisan, which could suggest different cultural components, the contemporary San are trying to establish the unified identity for self-identification and recognition more specifically by mainstream society and governments.

II. ‘Research’: Understanding of the San

Apart from research that focuses on language and linguistics, there has been an extensive research on the San (or Khwe/Bushmen/Basarwa) people through films⁽¹⁾, popular books, novels inventing a romanticised identity of the San. Academic journal articles and books, detailed documentation by development workers and extension personnel conducted over many years have addressed various aspects of life of these groups of people and contributors are largely international scholars (Lee, 1976; Heinz, 1979: 465–480; Hitchcock, 1978; 1982; 2002; Hitchcock, et al. 2006: 229–256; Ngo’ngo’la, 1997: 1–26).⁽²⁾ The San studies have therefore provided wealth of information in the fields of anthropology, ethnography, genetics, language and linguistics, history, legal studies, human rights and media. However numerous academic publications reviewed for this paper have paid little attention to San cross-border cultural heritage in enhancing our understanding of indigenous knowledge systems, their creativity in music, dance and art. The bulk of the literature tends to focus on their status of marginalization, exploitation, horrific despair, negative public attitudes towards them and lack of self-determination (Good, 1993: 203–230; Hitchcock, 2002: 797; Cassidy et al, 2001; Suzman, 2001; Saugestad, 2006). Review of some of the literature show that discrimination against the San has become deeply internalized in their cultural identity (Hitchcock, 2002: 797; Harring, 2004; Sylvain, 2011). Saugestad (2001) argues that the socio-historical status of the San has always been a problem inferiority and servitude. The discourse on a “marginalised and suffering only” may explain numerous different names in identifying them (Bushmen, hunter-gatherers, Basarwa, San). This may explain why to date there is no single term of self-reference that is universally preferred by those who write about them. Various San groups of southern Africa also use different terms (Saugestad, 2001). According to Bieseke and Hitchcock (2013), Namibia used the term “Bushmen” until 1996, when “San” began to be used. In previous years South Africa used the term “Bushmen,” but in the post-apartheid era, the term San was favoured, as seen by the establishment of the South African San Institute (SASI) in 1996 (Hitchcock et al., 2006: 5). Generally the use of the term “Bushmen” in southern Africa’s is no longer regarded politically correct, it is interpreted by the government (s) of the day and the general public (including the emerging San intellectuals) to have derogatory connections. In Botswana, the term “Basarwa” was adopted officially. However, this term has since *become* problematic, seen as pejorative by some section of the society including academia because it did not signify the status being of ethnic equality in the Botswana context. In the late 1996 representatives of various “San” groups met

in Namibia, where they agreed to allow the general term “San” and many scholars working on this topic were converted into using “San.” To some extent the conference “Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage,” held in Cape Town in 1997 (Bank, 1998) reaffirmed this position. In line with the position of the Penduka Declaration under the auspices of Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA, 2001), Botswana academic research also shifted in favour of the term “San” and this later justified the establishment of the San Research Center at the University of Botswana in 2010 (San Research Centre, 2010). However the use of the term Basarwa in Botswana has not faded away from use by the officials, media, the courts and the mainstream society.

Since independence (1966) Botswana’s approach to nation building was to avoid recognition of ethnic identity in its development programs, for instance the population and housing census do not collect data on ethnicity (Government of Botswana, 2011). To some extent this approach has been criticised by some scholars (Batibo, 1996; Janson & Tsonope, 1991; Saugestad, 2001; Resnick, 2009) for continuing to foster a myth of Botswana’s ethnic homogeneity. Since 1978, the government has used the term “Remote Area Dwellers” (RADs) to refer to people living in small communities outside the remote and geographical distant areas and the majority are San communities. As noted above a Remote Area Dweller Programme was established to address those who tend to be very poor, with no or inadequate access to land and water, and culturally and linguistically distinct. In her critical analysis of the RADP, (Saugestad, 2001: 125; 2006: 2) has described the San communities “to be a silent sector politically.” As noted in the introduction the Revision of the RADP (Government of Botswana, 2009) there has been some wide acknowledgement in Botswana that in contrast to the country’s middle income status, a large proportion of the San mainly found in the remote areas are still facing problems of poverty, insecure access to land resources, high unemployment and high rate of illiteracy (Hitchcock, 2002: 798; Sylvain, 2011; Thapelo, 2002; Cassidy et al, 2001). Therefore this paper advocates for the integration of San values and cultural heritage in national development strategies for accessing greater socio-economic opportunity and gain control over their lives. Appreciation of their cultural heritage should go hand in hand with recognition of their political rights.

The indigenous rights discourse in Botswana, South Africa and Namibia in particular often advocate for the San voice to be heard, appropriate responsible representation, economic and social development, empowerment to create meaningful and sustainable livelihoods and preservation of their cultural heritage. The emerging small-scale NGO capacity building programs are geared towards the involvement and participation of the elders and youth in leadership and decision processes for enhancement of their welfare.

III. Identity, Rights and Self-determination

Issues of identity and cultural heritage are widely debated today, more especially in relation to the San ethnic minorities of southern Africa. In order to understand San identity, rights and self-determination, first we have to reflect on Bot-

swana, a country associated with good governance but presenting a contrast image in the manner in which issues of ethnicity, language and culture are being addressed. For instance, during President Festus Mogae's tenure (1998–2008), the Constitution of Botswana was challenged, by some minority groups in the country for failure to be inclusive, and embracing cultural diversity (Mooko, 2009: 26).⁽³⁾ The nature of the Constitution had led many observers to assume that Botswana is a mono-ethnic state, because the Tswana groups had successfully imposed their culture and language (Setswana) on other ethnic groups (Parsons, 1985: 27). This resulted in the establishment of a Presidential Commission of enquiry into Sections 77, 78 and 79 of the Constitution of Botswana, also known as the Balopi Commission to respond to concerns of tribal inequality between the dominant Batswana and ethnic minority groups. In 2002 Kamanakao Association of the Wayeyi and Society for the Promotion of Ikalanga Language (SPIL) formed Reteng ("We are here") the multi-cultural coalition and challenged the constitutional position which was only recognizing eight principal ethnic groups against the so called minority ethnic groups. The organizations that had initially focused on developing writing systems for their linguistic groups, organising annual cultural events were now as a collective, engaging in advocating for the rights of non-Tswana tribes at the national and international levels (Seloma & Chebanne, 2008: 676). One commentator, who also happens to be an activist in the movement, Lydia Nyati-Ramahobo has argued that in the period between 1995 and 2008, their activities as individual associations and as a collective, "raised the voice for the recognition of the non-Tswana tribes, promoted multilingualism and called for a shift towards 'unity in diversity'" (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2008: 1–12).

It is important to note that the groups (above) that advocated for reform within the Botswana Constitution have a history of popular resistance. A good example of resistance to sub-imperial authority was the long-standing feud between chief Tshekedi of Bangwato and the Kalanga leader, John Nswazwi III. In 1931, Nswazwi had refused to pay the cattle levy imposed by Batawato chieftainship. Kalanga protested and sent a petition to the colonial administration demanding full independence from Bangwato, and recognition of the Ikalanga language. Throughout 1950s to the 1960s the Wayeyi had presented their grievances to the colonial administration, with the persistent demand for some form of separate status within the Reserve, and for relief from "oppression" by the Batawana, northwest of the country. The Wayeyi took their claims to a leading liberal firm of lawyers in Bulawayo, and their representations were made to Government (Bolaane, 2013). On the other hand, despite a long history of land dispossession and discrimination the San, who are the focus of this paper, did not present similar popular resistance. But as case studies will demonstrate the San communities have their own way of presenting their resilience.

In Botswana, in recent years the media, public debates and research have tried to capture San's 'limited' voices and "San Development and Challenges in Development" (Saugestad, 2006: 171–180; Wily, 1982: 291–308; Woodburn, 1997; 2001). Some of these aspects which include emerging popular resistance will be discussed in this section. Some of the research on education and policy is specifically looking at the impact of the mother tongue on the schooling of learners of San cul-

tural origin. Researchers in the region have argued that early childhood school environment where languages of dominant groups serve as medium of instruction and their use extended around the school premises promotes alienation of these children. They further argue that the school system enshrined within the view that 'one size fits all' denounces and marginalizes the languages and cultures of learners of the San origin (Monyatsi, 2009: 125–132; Chebanne & Monaka, 2009: 133–139).

Although countries such as Botswana which like other African countries is characterised by its multi-ethnic and linguistic entities, the language policy implementation has been delayed. As noted above linguistics assimilation ideology that was adopted at independence (1966) remains firmly unaltered, where English was pronounced as the official language, and Setswana attained the status of national language (Mooko, 2009: 26–30; Janson, 2000; Batibo & Tsonope, 2000). Hitchcock, Bieseke and Lee (2003) report on the San in southern Africa and they attribute to the San that many are acknowledging the importance of mother-tongue education at an early stage of learning for the development of skills of critical thinking as well as promoting retention of endangered languages and cultural heritage. Lee (1998) analyses a case of Nyae Nyae Ju'hoansi (Namibia) as evidence of the resilience and perseverance of the San people. He argues that while going through some transformation the Ju'hoansi maintained language and religious beliefs among other things.

In the 1990s the San in southern Africa were beginning to articulate violations of human rights they were experiencing, amongst them the denial of recognition of cultural rights (Hitchcock, 2006: 251; Saugestad, 2001). Elsewhere indigenous minorities and other ethnic minorities had been fighting for the possibilities to preserve their own cultures. In 1992 the Regional conference was held in Windhoek, Namibia on the "Development Africa's San Populations" and spokespersons of the San people were seeking recognition of rights at local, regional and international level. Similar sentiments were expressed at the conference held in Gaborone in 1993 where San delegates called for support from national governments, NGO and international academics in addressing the issue of marginalization and lack of right to self-determination (Saugestad, 2001). These efforts resulted in the establishment of the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA) which is run as an NGO network that coordinates and represents the interests of the indigenous people in the region (*Cultural Survival*, 12 July 2010). Among the objectives of WIMSA is to raise human rights awareness among San communities and regain their identity and pride in their culture, improving their self-esteem (*Cultural Survival*, 12 July 2010). As varied as the San may be linguistically, WIMSA which supports San Councils in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa promotes a shared common cross-border cultural identity for self-determination. With collaboration and solidarity from international organizations and institutions in Europe and America, WIMSA aims at nurturing the political voice and the support has been extended to organizations such as the First People of the Kalahari (FPK) in Botswana. FPK which also benefited from international organization support mainly focuses on the residents of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve concerning their inherent rights of residence and access to resources within

the CKGR.

When the San activism was beginning to gain ground in the 1990s with support from international development cooperation, the indigenous movement in Europe was advancing. The Sami in Norway, Finland and Sweden are cited in the literature as people who have achieved a lot compared to the situation of the San in southern Africa, where in the 1990s there was legislation on Sami cultural autonomy (Tuulentie, 2003: 275–295). Participation in the global movement by a few San individuals was encouraging indigenous discourse in southern Africa. The 1997 Conference on “Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage” in Cape Town mentioned above gave the Khoisan participants an opportunity to revise the long submerged identities in the aftermath of apartheid in South Africa and Namibia, where the search for a relevant history and cultural heritage became paramount (Lee, 1998: 67). However in the South Africa’s cultural revival movement the Khoi and the San seem to be keen to maintain a separate identity. But in Botswana and Namibia is generally a shared common ‘San identity.’

The relocation of some the San communities from the wildlife sanctuary areas in recent years have attracted international solidarity that is characteristic of the indigenous struggle (Saugestad, 2001; 2006). Therefore what is perceived as the predicament of indigenous people of southern Africa has become increasingly recognized by the global community as an issue that needs to be rectified both in terms of its colonial past, and its socio-economic presence. Numerous publications have noted that over decades the San traditional territories and natural resources were exploited and they were forced into assimilation to the mainstream culture thus forcing them to lose their identity and inherent rights as indigenous people (Gordon, 1992; Hitchcock, 2002; Hitchcock et al., 2003; Harring & Odendaal, 2006; Harring, 2004: 63–81). An argument has been sustained by the above scholars and others that natural resources within San traditional territories have always been central to their culture, identity and dignity. The well documented CKGR court case in Botswana for access to land and resources is being cited by several scholars as a good example of the San political mobilization and a new spirit of community resistance (Hitchcock, 2002: 247–250; 2006: 239–253; Saugestad, 2006: 171–180; Resnick, 2009: 55–72). The CKGR case which was registered at the Lobatse High Court by members of the FPK in 2002 for the state-led removal of the San in 1997 and 2002 respectively outside the game reserve, is viewed as a tribute to their resilience and cultural strength. Hitchcock (2006) argues that the outcome of the court case in December 2006 is an indication that San communities have overcome many obstacles including an effort to retain their languages, cultures and spiritual belief systems. In South Africa the most cited case in an attempt to redress the San historical mistreatment is where the #Khomani San won a claim in 1999 that provided them with 38,000 hectares of farming land that was taken away from them during the 1930s (Resnick, 2009: 60). The South Africa’s Deputy President, announced that the victory marked a step toward “the rebirth of a people that nearly perished because of oppression” (Sapa-AFP, 1999).

The situation of the San is not unique in Africa. Ethnographic and anthropological research has analysed the situation of Pygmies of Equatorial Central Africa and Cameroun, the Hadza in Tanzania, the Twa of Rwanda and Burundi with a

long history of marginalisation and lack of self-determination (Woodburn, 1997; 2000). It has been noted that in some of the African countries there is fear that, promotion of indigenous people's cultural rights of any form of tradition will stand in the way of progress. The political position in a country like Botswana is that recognizing the San as indigenous people would not go well with nation building and therefore every citizen (except in the case of those who naturalised) are indigene.

Recently the position of Botswana on the status of 'indigenous people' is being gradually challenged by the few educated San activists, who characterize human rights and political mobilization, drawing ideas from worldwide indigenous movement. This group is paying attention to arguments that communities that have maintained vibrant cultures are those that use their languages in aspects of community life (Seloma & Chebanne, 2008). In several regional conferences, workshops and symposia reference has been made, in particular by these emerging San activists, to the Southern African Development Committee (SADC) protocol on Culture, Information and Sport where the protocol says member states shall formulate and implement language policies that will aim at promoting indigenous languages for national socio-economic development where such language exists (Chamane, 2012: 1–25; Kamwendo, 2009: 9–15).⁽⁴⁾ Therefore, the contemporary San movement is taking advantage of some of the public forums to articulate their position of recognition of identity and cultural heritage to guarantee their human dignity. Satau (2013) has recently argued that Botswana society continues to present a stereotypical behaviour towards the San and at political level this overshadows effective and efficient strategies' that could be adopted by the country as informative model for development. He further argues that most government decisions in an attempt to address San livelihoods are taken on the basis of third party interests, alienating the San from negotiating development system and practice. Those who share the same view with Satau have challenged attitudes and behavior that promote social exclusion, making statements for the recognition of resource rights embedded in their cultural identity and demanding for political recognition.⁽⁵⁾ Such sentiments have been expressed through a San Caucus to the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in New York (May 2012) advocating against injustice and cultural loss. Southern African governments are being urged to hold proper continuous dialogue with the San on issues affecting their livelihoods, especially in relation to the developments projects taking place in their traditional territories. The respective governments are being called upon to honour rights of the San as embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Further analysis of statements made by the emerging activists show that they are learning human rights conceptual frame work and paradigm and the use of legal instruments as tool to negotiate their identity in contemporary southern Africa. They draw inspiration from international communities in similar situations as the San. Such case studies include that of the Guatemala Community Radio Movement Struggle for Justice with a voice to vindicate their claims. Such community radio programmes cross borders into Costa Rico and Belize for the marginalised communities.⁽⁶⁾ In South Africa, San youth use a community radio to present issues that include culture and language preservation (Gaotlhogwe, 2010). The XKFM

radio station of the !Xun and Khwe communities of Plantfontein in South Africa is a good example that has since provided a platform for the local communities to communicate between themselves and the broader societies on issues that affect them. Botswana is a country that still resists community radio stations, and hence groups such as the San have to preserve their music, dance, art and handicraft skills to negotiate their identity within a national multi-cultural society.

When President Seretse Khama Ian Khama assumed power in April 2008 he pronounced that arts, culture and heritage must be celebrated nationwide so that the Botswana nation truly enjoys their unity in diversity (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2008: 1). Since then cultural diversity was promoted in various multi-cultural activities including music and dance taking place during the President's Day (July public holidays). The recognition of the value of Botswana's diversity was welcomed by many including ethnic minorities, however government has yet to put in place policies that would create an enabling environment for the incorporation of the diverse languages and cultural identities. In Botswana, there is absence of ethnic minority languages use in schools, courts, media, etc (Mooko, 2009: 26–30). For instance the state run-media including radio, television and the *Daily News* have also been an important vehicle for reinforcing Setswana cultural identity at the expense of others. No other language other than Setswana and English enjoy radio broadcasts in the country. Some of the advocates in the Reteng movement have pronounced that the President's position must be backed up by key action and reforms. Appreciating cultural heritage of certain people does not necessarily mean the recognition of their political rights.

In contrast with the situation in Botswana, in Namibia the government through a language policy has been supporting the development of indigenous languages, including Ju/'hoan language also spoken in Botswana (Batibo, 2009: 43–46). An example of progress is the Nyae Nyae Village Schools Project, a community-based language development and education. Together with the development of a Ju/'hoan-English dictionary these projects have been reported to have had profound effects on Ju/'hoan cultural self-awareness (Hitchcock et al., 2006: 19–22). It should be noted that despite little support given to mother-tongue initiatives in Botswana, in Ghanzi district there has been some participation of closely involved local community organizations in the education of San children. The accredited Bokamoso project under Kuru Family Organizations (KFO) is early childhood development (Mokomo, 2013). The Bokamoso project promotes language, art, music and dance among the young learners.

Since its independence in 1994 South Africa with a history of apartheid like Namibia recognized eleven national languages for various forms of media including their television programmes. This has since been popularised as a "rainbow nation" and viewed positively as an approach that is fostering collective heritage, multi-cultural and multi-lingual nature of the country. However none of the Khoesan languages is included amongst the national languages, possibly because of lack of orthography. Despite the complex issues regarding national languages, in an attempt to address the history of dispossession and discrimination, South Africa introduced a new coat of arms in 2000 with two San figures from a San rock painting and the text !ke e: /xarra //ke from the nearly extinct San /Xam language

of the Cape. The language has been translated as 'Unity in diversity' by Khoesan linguists. Some critics have viewed this as a mere symbolic recognition and not a political recognition of the San (Woodburn, 2001: 3). In Botswana failure to implement policies that aim at promoting languages and cultural identity of some of the groups which do not share the same socio-cultural values as the mainline society is being viewed as failure to meet basic democratic and human rights requirements (Monaka, 2007).

The discussion that follows below is on manifestations of cross-border San cultural heritage and identity. Although examples will be drawn from Botswana the paper will use some examples from Namibia and South Africa for comparison.

1. Rock Art and Paintings

Several scholars have branded rock art, paintings and engravings in southern Africa as indigenous San cultural heritage that transcends the porous borders of the region. For instance in his pocket guide book, *San Rock Art*, Lewis-Williams (2011) has observed that the San rock paintings scattered over the entire region have presented viewers with one of the greatest cultural treasures of human kind. Rock art has been defined as the oldest form of human communication across the international borders, and in southern Africa several maps have been published in academic works showing the distribution of rock paintings and engravings in the region's landscape (Campbell & Coulson, 2001; Dowson & Lewis-Williams, 1994: 201–221). The *Botswana Notes and Records* volume publication has over the past several years accumulated articles on Tsodilo rock art and paintings in northern Botswana (Campbell & Robbins, 1993: 19–28; Campbell et al., 1994: 37–57). This particular rock art has been noted among the riches in southern Africa and the world. Several archaeologists have noted that the Tsodilo wall of the caves supports a number of paintings, the most prominent of which is a finely depicted rhino in white. The rest of the paintings executed in red depict giraffe and eland which are ritually and highly valued by the San traditional hunters (Tlou & Campbell, 1984 & 1997: 8). The cluster of hills are linked to history of rainmaking ceremonies and traditionally regarded as a place of spiritual significance by the indigenous peoples living in the region. Similar observations have been made about other rock paintings sites for example the Matops in Zimbabwe and Wilderbeest Kuil site, in the Northern Cape, South Africa (Cooke, 1965: 263–285; Mguni, 2006: 583–598; Namono & Eastwood, 2005: 77–85). These features and others reveal striking similarities between the paintings at Tsodilo and some of the paintings at sites in Zimbabwe and Tanzania, South Africa and Lesotho (Government of Botswana, 1994: 47; Campbell & Coulson, 2001). Thus Tsodilo art indigenous knowledge acts as an important link to the rock paintings network of southern Africa.

When UNESCO declared Tsodilo, a World Heritage Site in 2001, this was necessitated by its outstanding rock art and its record of a continuous human occupation presented by archaeological evidence at the site (UNESCO, 2002; Government of Botswana, 2001). In 2009 Tsodilo Community Initiative was launched by the Letloa Trust of KFO supported as a corporate social investment venture between

De Beers Diamond Company and De Beers Holdings Botswana. The aim was to give local communities an opportunity to benefit from the profits accrued from a camp site and craft shop at the heritage site. The community initiative is a good example of how tourism linked to cultural heritage can be incorporated in the development programs of Botswana in promoting community livelihoods (Letsi-didi, 2013).

2. San Contemporary Art

This paper will use a specific case study in Botswana to demonstrate that contemporary San art has the potential to educate us on San issues. The Kuru Art project in Ghanzi district, illustrates value of San contemporary art and its relevance to the empowerment of minority groups. Baracchini (2013)'s work on the production and commercialization of San contemporary art in the remote area argues that these visual cultural productions may facilitate the integration of marginalized population in the modern world, by being potentially mobilized as a way of expressing knowledge, a tool to improve livelihood. She further argues that art produced by marginalised communities can be viewed as a source of social change and a means of representation toward an international audience (Baracchini, 2013). In the contemporary world, San communities use art as a form of communication or expression to build and transform representation of themselves in the imagination of others. One tends to agree with Dowson and Lewis-Williams (1994: 201–221) who affirm that art was produced by knowledgeable actors who used it to reproduce and, especially in this period, to transform society (Dowson & Lewis-Williams, 1994: 219).

In pursuing this argument, the Kuru Art project in D'kar, could serve as a good illustration. The project was started in the early 1990s by a NGO, Kuru Family Organizations, as a way of facilitating a development process with poor and marginalized communities living in and around Ghanzi district towards the border with Namibia (Kuru Art Project, 2001: 7–8). To some extent this project has been encouraging localised innovations and promoting inclusive development. The San art project was initially conceptualised (1989) through an excursion to the Tsodilo hills as part of the Kuru D'kar Trust (now an affiliate of KFO) to ideally preserve the cultural history of the San and to draw on their ancestral skills and talents. None of the first group of artists involved had any art educational background however, over a decade they translated their indigenous knowledge system into modern art. When the project was launched a team of artists comprised of the San from Botswana, South Africa and Namibia were brought together at the Tsodilo workshop to inspire each other as they interacted (Kuru Art Project, 2001: 7; Botswana Guardian Newspaper, 18 Sept 2002). The proceedings of the San art workshop (1990) recorded individual voices talking about having been inspired by the famous paintings of their ancestors at the Tsodilo hills and caves in their own art works.

When carefully studying an exhibition of San art in the contemporary studio in D'Kar (August, 2012), one would notice that most of the San contemporary art still draws from their ancient history. Some of the artists used images and ideas

depicting the animals and plants they had known during their lives. Those who initiated the Kuru art project have observed that when the artists get engaged in painting and graphics, they tend to follow the traditional division of labour where women produce art depicting veld food collecting, people, birds, small creatures including beetles, beadwork and items of clothing and jewellery (Kuru Art Project, 2001: 7). On the other hand men focus on depicting animals, mythical creatures and hunting activity, defining masculine roles. Generally, the theme of art by both men and women often include their landscape, genre and hunting-gathering life-style (Kuru Art Project, 2005; 2008). One good illustrative art work is by one of the founding members of the Kuru art project, the late Coex'ae Ggam (affectionately known as Dada) (Gollifer & Egner, 2011: 10 & 93; Botswana Guardian 18 September, 2002). Dada once remarked in an interview,

... Being an artist is part of my existence, as being Ncoakhoe (San) is part of my existence. Yes, the main reason for me to paint is to show the world the things that my people and I love. It is a way of making a living, but more than that – it is to show other people who we are and how we live. It is also a way of learning. Through art you learn about new techniques, about other cultures, about how other people think and live... (Botswana Guardian, 18 September, 2002).

The statement above demonstrates San aspirations in showcasing their distinct culture within the contemporary multi-cultural society of southern Africa. In her analysis on 'San Development', Saugestad (2006: 171) has asked, "whose voice is being heard?." Through art Dada may be seeking a voice. Barachinni (2013) has observed that San artists are still facing a challenge to make other people including fellow citizens hear their voice. She cites one artist clearly expressing herself that;

People say we don't have a voice. But the problem is not that we don't have a voice, the problem is that people don't know how to listen to us. If you are here, you will hear everyday people speaking about lack of money, lack of food, lack of job, lack of education, lack of access to land. But people don't hear that, they won't listen (Barachinni, 2013).

Art production as a process of cooperative social learning could be used as grassroots coping strategy to seek for attention to their marginalized status but at the same time serving as cultural resilience. Contemporary San art could give people a medium to communicate what they cannot express due to language barrier or literacy skills. Barachinni (2013) further observes that while art may be viewed as a way of improving rural livelihood in contemporary southern Africa, San art could serve as discourse for self-determination and self-representation. It is a way of expressing knowledge. But San art can also be viewed as the expression of their social and cultural realities and part of active material culture, reflecting more properly moulding social relations (Dowson & Lewis-Williams, 1994: 220). Therefore, San art depicts creativity and a vibrant community with various socio-eco-

conomic activities including dance and music (Guenther, 1994: 257–273).

The Botswana San artists use contemporary materials to produce works of art that had gained recognition in the galleries worldwide (Kuru Art Project, 2001; Matome, 2007; Botswana Guardian, 18 September 2002). Several exhibitions of paintings and graphic art from the Kuru project have been held at the National Museum and Art Gallery of Botswana. Such exhibitions have over the years been accompanied by the cultural dance group (Williams, 1991: 286–287; Nharo San Contemporary art exhibition at the National Gallery, 1991). Apart from the Botswana National Museum, the San art has been exhibited in other galleries in the country, the Kalk Bay Modern Art in the Western Cape and the Oude Libertas Gallery, Stellenbosch in South Africa (Barachinni, 2013).⁽⁷⁾ On the 22 August to mid October 2012 a workshop titled ‘Creating Connections’ was held in Stellenbosch where the Keiskamma Art artists had exhibition collaboration with the Kuru Art. Such collaboration gives artists across the border an opportunity to share ideas.

In recent years, the artists such as Dada Coexa’ae Qgam, Cg’ose Ntcox’o, Nxabe Taase, Thamae Kaashe, Xhaqho X’are among others have received substantial acclaim from exhibitions throughout the world (Matome, 2007). During the Botswana Presidential Day Awards (July 2013), Kuru artists walked away with first, second and third prizes on national level for the arts and crafts competitions. The author watched (on Botswana Television) one of the artists Thamakae Kaashe walking with dignity up the stage to receive the first prize from President Khama. Kaashe won the prize for the best visual artist of the year 2013 and received coverage in local newspapers and even discussed by admirers in face book social media. The Kuru artists have won awards both collectively and individually and their work is today found in private and public collections throughout the world. In their biography, Gollifer and Egner (2011) note that as Dada was discovering the secrets of painting, she flew between the world’s capitals, spreading the message of her art, and the message of her people. The San artists have not only regionalized their art but internationalized it. A thorough review of the information on the Kuru San arts and crafts as well as the KFO annual reports reveal that between 1991 and 2013 exhibitions were also held in national art galleries in Windhoek, Harare, Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Johannesburg, Pretoria and Kimberly. Some of the artists have had the opportunity to travel across international borders for their art exhibitions at places such as the Images of Africa in Copenhagen, Rebecca Hossack Gallery in London, Graphica Creativa Triennale, Jyväskylä in Finland, Volkenkunde Museum, Rotterdam and the gallery Charlotte Daneel in the Netherlands, Intergrafia ’94, Kracow in Poland, Dusable Museum in Chicago and Iwalawa–Haus, Beyreuth in Germany. Art exhibitions can be viewed as their freedom of expressions to create, disseminate and distribute their traditional cultural expressions to the world, so as to benefit them for their own development (UNESCO, 2005).

Based on the discussion above it is clear from a case study such as the Kuru art project that contemporary San artists have had an opportunity to interact with the cosmopolitan society when visiting different countries. They have gradually been experimenting with various art techniques, to improve style and substance.

The artists have used contemporary materials to produce works of art that had gained recognition in the galleries worldwide as noted above. Therefore artists can gradually enter global economy through art, and thus improve their livelihood.

3. Handicrafts

San cultural heritage has been extended to the production and trade of crafts across the borders of southern Africa, particularly in Botswana, Namibia and Botswana. Sales gallery stocks including big airports such as the Oliver Tambo International Airport in Johannesburg stock a wide range of traditional items such as the well-advertised ostrich egg-shell products, glass beadwork, wooden crafts, hunting set and skin products (Ghanzi Craft flyer, 2008; Molapo Kalahari Lodge flyer, 2008). A good example in Botswana is the Ghanzi Craft, a member of the KFO with an aim to improve the lives of San communities by promoting and marketing craft for the benefit of rural producers. Ghanzi Craft currently serves several remote settlements within Ghanzi and Kgalagadi districts, buying crafts directly from producers and the majority are women (Ghanzi Craft flyer, 2008). Ghanzi Craft operates under the principle that all craft fairly traded would lead to a sustainable and significant contribution to poverty reduction. At the same time to attract the international tourists, the NGO facilitates training workshops amongst producers on new designs that could be complemented with traditional designs. This is to make for instance the jewellery items attractive to a wider market. Their target group of producers include youth to pass knowledge from one generation to the other. Given the marginalised status of the majority of the San, supporting the communities to produce quality handicrafts would enable them generate an income and develop their skills, while ensuring their age-old traditions and culture are kept alive.

The mushrooming of eco-tourism and cultural centres in southern Africa with some owned and managed by San communities for example the San Ju/'hoasi and Hai//Omn of Namibia, !Khwatla, north-west of Cape Town and Naro, west of Botswana have over the years been attracting international tourists to visit local communities for the appreciation of indigenous knowledge through dance, music and crafts. National cultural exhibitions across the borders of Botswana and Namibia take pride in advertising faces of young San (some receiving coverage in glossy magazines). In Namibia the Nyae Nyae Conservancy, a San owned conservancy runs a craft project, among other tourism activities. Their Tsumkwe craft project is a platform where the members produce crafts and have more or less similar marketing strategies like the Ghanzi Craft. The San communities across the borders often share ideas on craft production improving on their indigenous innovation to attract the tourism market. A good example is an exchange visit in June 2012 by Kuang Hoo Community Development (Kaudwane, Botswana) to the Tsumkwe Nyae Nyae Conservancy in Namibia for benchmarking purposes, to see how other people who share similar culture and socio-economic background were managing their projects to improve their livelihoods (Hiri & Mokibelo, 2012). Like their fellow San in Ghanzi, the Kuang Hoo Community Trust have demonstrated rich knowledge in leather work and crafts made from ostrich egg shells.

4. San Dance and Music

The study of San traditional culture, dance and music, and handicraft has shown a shared knowledge carried across borders and transferred from generation to the other. The Kuru Dance Festival at the Dqae Qare game farm in Ghanzi district is yet another activity that has potential to add value in building confidence and self-respect for marginalised people. Among other activities the KFO has been facilitating a festival on San cultural music and dance as one way of promoting grass-roots community self-development. The festival has since become an annual event in the Kalahari Desert and the 2008 one carried the theme: "Proud to be San." Like the San art, dance activity depicted a thousand of years old culture which includes the trance healing dance and song. At this particular event the San dance and music receive the wider audience appreciation of this form of ancient "art." The dance and music is an important participation by men and women, old and young where groups wear designed traditional attire made of animal skins, carefully decorated with ostrich egg shells beads.

San groups from different parts of west and north-west Botswana including the Tsodilo do participate in the cultural performance. The festival also brings together dozens of San dance groups across the borders of southern Africa including Gemsbok National Park and the ǀKhomani, Platfontein South Africa and west Caprivi !Khwe group from Namibia. Recently the dance festival included other neighbouring minority groups of people whose history and traditional culture also transcend across the borders of the region. The San along the western and north western border of Botswana have long history of socio-economic interaction with other language groups such groups include Wayei (Bayei), Herero (Ovaherero and Ovambanderu), Hambukushu (Mbukushu) and Bakgalagadi (see Ikeya, 2005: 31–44; Tlou & Campbell, 1984; 1997).

Since 2006 to date, the author has had an opportunity to visit the Dqae Qare game farm and attend the Kuru dance festival. It has been observed that at the Kuru dance festival, the San in particular have a wide range of repertoire of distinctive cultural music and dance. They have developed a vocal musical tradition that differs radically from other neighbouring groups found in the region. This unique expression involves an extremely complex type of music where members of a community, including pre-school children, are proficient in this musical technique. In his book, *Tears for my Land* (2010), the San music artist and community development practitioner, Kuela Kiema describes his people as "music makers." Like art the dance gives meaning of spiritual perspective and cultural identity. Kiema (2010) notes that in their ||Gana and |Gui community there are no spectators, everybody is a dancer and/ or musician and so is he. In educating the readers about the San music, he further observes that they are many melodic musical instruments and sound producing objects, which can be used as musical instruments at different times for different social functions. Their music includes lullabies, entertainment and spiritual music and dance. According to Kiema (2010: 43) and based on the author's observation during the past Kuru Dance festivals, entertainment music includes dancers portraying behaviour of different animals or how hunters would interact with the animal being hunted, it could be a giraffe or an

eland, the dancers and musicians will display the behaviour of that particular wild-life species. A song can be produced based on folklore. As Kiema (2010) has observed there are love songs, songs for women when they out in the bush collecting and gathering food, songs for appreciating rain and stars, some specifically for lamenting about nature hazards such as drought and some for the girl's first menstruation. In his narration of his life experiences in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve where he was born, Kiema, describes his own father as a one of the 'famous' musician of the CKGR. According to him his father played string African violin called segaba in Setswana. The Kiema sons (including Kiema) learnt how to play the music instruments from their father and who was also a music teacher to the rest of the clan within their area of location, Kg'aukwe in the game reserve (Kiema, 2010: 44). Kuela Kiema's uncle (father's younger brother) specialized in the music instrument called setinkane (thump piano) music and production and Kuela (Kiema) and his brothers were introduced to how to play the thumb piano and even how to make this particular instrument which is now a renowned cross cultural music item that has also become handy as a tourist souvenir. Kiema's mother was also a musician in her own right and so are many other women belonging to the CKGR ||Gana (G||ani) and ||Gui (G|wi) groups and New Xade Q'oedsadca or Bere Qgõo group who participated in the Kuru cultural event⁽⁸⁾ (Program: Kuru San Dance Festival, 2007). Kiema's mother specializing in four-stringed women's guitar and mouth bow players, she also became a teacher to her own son Kiema (2010).

An Encyclopedia of |Gui and ||Gana Culture and Society (Tanaka & Sugawara, 2010) does provide description of some of the San dances which are still retained as cultural heritage and performed in isolated places in the remote areas of western Botswana, including the Dqae Qare game farm. Some of the dances carry the names of the game species which are found in the open grasslands and open bush savannah of the Kalahari and traditionally such animals were important source of meat to the community. Among these animals are the gemsbok and eland which are large antelopes largely found in the CKGR and their images often found in the rock art engravings in the southern African. The gemsbok dance which is one of the popular ones at the Kuru dance festival is of religious and ceremonial nature. Serving as a hunting dance, the gemsbok dance was performed in recognition of a successful hunting dance where they would be plenty of meat for everyone. It has been described as a large-scale dance involving a whole camp where they are plenty of singers and dancers and could carry on for over an hour. Women sit in circle around a small fire, clamping hands and singing while men who sing in a deep voice dance with systematic rhythm around them (Tanaka & Sugawara, 2010: 44–45). Another representative animal in the San communal life is the eland representing the ideal body type and its abundant haunches were viewed as symbolic of fertility (Tanaka & Sugawara, 2010: 32).

In the broad terms, San cultural music and dance is a coherent body myths, rituals, values and artistic expressions (Silberbauer, 1981; Lee, 1984; Heinz, 1979). The melon dance which often features in the list of the Kuru cultural event was traditionally primarily a dance and play for girls and young women, performed in a camp in the bush where women were gathering veld food. This is a dance where

girls form a line and the front girl hand over a small melon. The girl would jump and receive melon without dropping it, more like the skill displayed in basketball. She would dance improvisatorially for several minutes holding the melon, while co-participants clap their hands and sing a song. Some of the dance ceremonies performed during moonlight mark the girl's first menstruation and during this period a girl could go through a two weeks confinement as a celebration for welcoming into womanhood and part of the ritual is to scrub her body with powder made from seeds of melons (Tanaka & Sugawara, 2010: 83). Part of the ritual dance demonstrating the figure on an eland marks the girl's puberty ceremony.

The San distinctive worldview, based on belief systems of indigenous peoples, is manifested through traditional music and craft, whose virtues are widely recognized not only in Botswana but also in other southern African countries where San healing is practise. A healer was (and is still is) associated with deep knowledge of herbal medicine and was a diviner or magician. Amongst the Botswana communities, the San are still hailed for their expertise as diviners and healers. San healing dance which is conducted at night around the fire place is a way of seeking connections across boundaries: human and nature/environment and the spiritual world. Men and women participate in this particular dance, women sitting in a circle around the fire clapping their hands as men (and some women) dancing in a unique rhythm around the fire. During the process of the clapping, singing and dance, a healer will emerge, go into trance and perform his healing (Tanaka & Sugawara, 2010).

Such cultural heritage depicts theatre and is marked with mobility, productivity and creativity and hence increasingly becoming attractive to tourists across the globe. During the opening of the 11th Kuru cultural festival, the guest speaker described culture as "one of the important tools to let people believe in themselves," noting the efforts of Kuru in encouraging individuals and marginalized communities, to contribute meaningfully their cultural heritage to regional tourism and further improve their livelihoods.

CONCLUSION

In this paper I have made an argument that art, music and dance performances still play a vibrant and symbolic role in the lives of the San people across the border. Such main indicators of San identity remain invaluable mine of knowledge that covers the whole range of the cultural development of the indigenous people of southern Africa. Through art, handicraft, dance and music, the San are searching for their place in this new world order to reclaim what many have lost when displaced from their traditional territories. The paper has argued that while San art, handicraft and music/dance may have a potential role as agent for economic and social change it could also form a base of knowledge and representation of the voice for San self-determination in the region. The projects identified in the discussion above are one way of empowering the most vulnerable groups of southern Africa. In collaboration with NGOs and government the localised social and economic innovations could promote social inclusion and enable people living in

remote area settlements build sustainable livelihoods; promote their self-reliance and sustainable utilization of natural resources. Cultural heritage initiatives could promote community development efforts for the San which is what organisations such as KFO and WIMSA promote.

The analysis of the Kuru dance and the San art project in Botswana and Nyae Nyae Conservancy in Namibia are good examples in promoting culture, music and dance for awareness-raising and capacity building to ensure recognition of, respect for and enhancement of the intangible cultural heritage in society. Music and dance like sport have the potential to build bridges, and give people from different cultural background an opportunity to respect each other and live together in harmony despite their diverse beliefs. This is in line with the UNESCO proclamation on safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage. Through their creations in art and paintings the San women and men articulate experience. San art thus offers an alternative mode of writing history, a window into their worlds through which unfold visual stories of their relationship with nature. Today the San art and paintings are predominantly found on the walls, of houses, offices, hotels, tourist resorts and international airports across the world. The art signifies the traditional life of the San across the region of southern Africa and their link to the rest of the world. These elements of culture define the San space in a growing economy of Botswana, Namibia and South Africa. Such artistic creations are travelling texts, often bought by tourists, however unlike contemporary art and paintings the majority of the craft work (for example decorations on the ostrich egg, or ostrich shell beads jewellery) do not carry the signature of the creator as it crosses the borders into the western world. The art, music and dance cultural heritage not only give the San a regional identity but has a potential to be made a commodity that could attract tourism and thus help them gain control over their own development. Given the wider public's growing interest in San traditional knowledge, values and beliefs, the younger generation are coming to realise that culture can instil pride in a person and sometimes has substantial economic value (WIMSA Report, 2002 to 2003). The promotion of San culture, dance and music can be infused into the curriculum in creating awareness, building self-esteem and changing the negative attitude of other members of the mainstream society towards minority groups. The paper has tried to showcase how San culture and identity transcends borders.

NOTES

1. In the 1980 a comedy *The Gods Must Be Crazy* portrayed a Kalahari Bushman tribe first encounter with an artefact from the outside world (a Coke bottle). The movie has received criticism for inaccurate exaggerations of the group hunting and gathering life style. Another example is that of a documentary titled *The Great Dance: A Hunter's Story* (2000) directed by Craig and Damon Foster. See Bushmen: Wikipedia, the free Encyclopaedia.
2. In recent years academics at the University of Botswana have also made a significant contribution to San studies through *Botswana Pula: Botswana Journal* special issues.
3. During his tenure in office, President Mogae was noted for his concern regarding the superior attitudes that some tribes tended to display in relation to other tribes.
4. The theme was "Indigenous Voices for Good Governments and Human Rights," Norwe-

- gian Church Aid hosted conference, and participants were mainly San youth activists from Botswana, Namibia and South Africa.
5. The Permanent Forum is the most important international platform for indigenous people allowing them to engage with UN system, multilateral bodies.
 6. See Our Indigenous Community Radio Program Crosses Borders, June 2013, on line.
 7. Recently (June 2013) Barracchini accompanied some of the San artists for an exhibition in South Africa.
 8. New Xade are predominantly San settlements in Ghanzi district outside the CKGR.

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